burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intergroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Munduruca. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *cauis* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Munduruca residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
754 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against
● 689 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
756 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is found by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *cauis*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple [illegible] of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begins.

756 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
754 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at